

Message Text

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51

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FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8059

USLO PEKING PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC

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CINCPACAF

CINCPACFLT

CINCUSARPAC

COMUSTDC

CG US FORCES KOREA

US MISSION NATO 117

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 8772

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DIA FOR DI4

DA FOR DAMI-DIE

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJ: CHOU'S POLITICAL REPORT TO TENTH PARTY CONGRESS: EXTERNAL
ASPECTS

SUMMARY: CHOU EN-LAI'S POLITICAL REPORT TO THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS
ELABORATED ON THE REGIME'S PRESENT WORLD VIEW. ALTHOUGH CHOU CLAIMED
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THAT THE CHINESE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT HAD "FIRMLY IMPLEMENTED THE
FOREIGN POLICY LAID DOWN BY THE NINTH CONGRESS," THERE WERE SOME
STRIKING DIFFERENCES ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS BETWEEN THE TWO REPORTS.
CHOU'S REPORT REFLECTED A SHELIVING OF IDEOLOGICAL AND PROLETARIAN

REVOLUTIONARY GOALS AND A STRESS ON POWER REALITIES AND TRADITIONAL DIPLOMACY. WHILE EMPHASIZING THE ON-GOING CONTENTION FOR HEGEMONISM OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS (RATHER THAN THEIR COLLUSION) AS THE ROOT CAUSE OF "INTRANQUILITY" AND "GREAT DISORDER" IN THE WORLD, THE PREMEIR CLEARLY WAS MOST CONCERNED WITH SOVIET WORLD AMBITIONS AND WITH MOSCOW'S ADVANCE OF DETENTE WITH THE WEST. HE MADE EXPLICIT CHARGES OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT WITH LIN PIAO AND EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER FUTURE SOVIET MEDDLING. CHOU ALSO REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF "SURPRISE ATTACKS" BY THE USSR. IN THIS CONTEXT CHOU RATIONALIZED THE EXPEDIENT NATURE OF SINO-US DETENTE. END SUMMARY

1. CHOU EMPHASIZED THAT CONTENTION FOR HEGEMONISM BY THE TWO SUPERPOWERS WAS THE CAUSE OF "INTRANQUILITY" AND "GREAT DISORDER" IN THE WORLD, AND THAT STRUGGLE AGAINST HEGEMONISM WAS THE PRC'S MAIN THEORETICAL LINE ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT. ALTHOUGH THE US WAS DIRECTLY AND FREQUENTLY LABELED AS ONE OF THE HEGEMONIC POWERS, NOWHERE DID CHOU PORTRAY IT AS PRESENTLY PURSUING AN AGGRESSIVE COURSE. (THE 1969 NINTH PARTY CONGRESS REPORT ON THE OTHER HAND DESCRIBED THE US AS THE "MOST FEROCIOUS ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD.") CHOU PICTURED US IMPERIALISM AS GOING DOWN HILL AND ON THE DECLINE. HE REFERRED ONLY BRIEFLY TO THE VICTORIES WON AGAINST "US AGGRESSION" IN INDOCHINA AND NOTED THAT THE US "COULD NOT BUT PULL OUT OF VIETNAM," BUT HE MADE NO MENTION OF PRESENT US POLICY OR OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE AREA. LIKEWISE THE US WAS NOT DIRECTLY IDENTIFIED AS THE TARGET OF THE "JUST STRUGGLES" OF PALESTINIANS AND OTHERS IN THE THIRD WORLD. IN CONTRAST TO THE NINTH CONGRESS REPORT THERE WAS NO MENTION OF US MILITARY BASES, MILITARY EXPENDITURES, POLICIES TOWARD TAIWAN OR KOREA, NOR US DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. ON THE BILATERAL LEVEL, CHOU REPORTED THAT SINO-US RELATIONS HAD IMPROVED TO "SOME EXTENT," AND EXCEPT FOR THE STATEMENT THAT "THEY(THE HEGEMONIC POWERS) WANT TO DEVOUR CHINA" HE DID NOT SUGGEST ANY DIRECT US THREAT TO CHINA.

2. TREATMENT OF THE USSR WAS STRIKINGLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT GIVEN THE US. CHOU HARPED ON MOSCOW'S INCREASED POWER AMBITIONS AND CATALOGUED THE NUMEROUS "EVEL AND FOUL THINGS" THE SOVIETS HAVE DONE
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FROM PAKISTAN TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THE PREMEIR ALSO TRIED TO STIR UP FEARS OF SOVIET INTENT IN WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPANESE DISSATISFACTION OVER THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE. FURTHERMORE HE EXORiated THE SOVIETS FOR THEIR "FACIST DICTATORSHIP" AT HOME. WHILE THE PREMEIR DID NOT REFER TO PRESIDENT NIXON, HE DIRECLY AND FREQUENTLY CASTIGATED BREZHNEV, THE "NEW CZAR."

3. CHOU DENIGRATED SOVIET PROFESSIONS OF GOOD WILL AND REPEATED THE CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE'S WARNING OF SOVIET "SURPRISE ATTACKS." HE ALSO CHARGED MOSCOW WITH MASSING TROOPS ON THE BORDER. NEVERTHELESS CHOU WAS CLEARLY LESS ALARMED ABOUT AN IMMINENT SOVIET ATTACK THAN WAS THE NINTH CONGRESS REPORT. HOWEVER, NUMEROUS REFERENCES INDICATED CHOU'S CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET EFFORTS TO EXPLOIT INTERNAL

DIFFERENCES INSIDE CHINA. CHOU EXPLICITLY LINKED LIN PIAO TO MOSCOW ACCUSING HIM OF BEING A "SUPER SPY", OF PLOTTING UNDER THE SOVIET "BATON" AND OF WANTING TO "CAPITULATE" TO THEM. HE CHARGED BREZHNEV WITH HAVING IN 1967 PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED "CONTINUATION OF THE POLICY OF SUBVERTING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY." THE PREMEIR WARNED THAT IN THE FUTURE THERE WOULD BE MORE INTRA-PARTY STRUGGLES AND THAT "ENEMIES AT HOME AND ABROAD UNDERSTAND THAT THE EASIEST WAY TO CAPTURE THE FORTRESS IS FROM WITHIN." HE REITERATED THAT CHINA WAS PREPARED TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTANCE AND THAT THE BORDER QUESTION SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED "FREE FROM ANY THREAT," IE UNDER MUTUAL WITHDRAWAL FROM DISPUTED AREAS. THE TONE OF THE REPORT DID NOT SUGGEST ANY LESSENING PESSIM ON THE PROSPECT FOR SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS.

4. WHEREAS THE 1969 REPORT HAD FOCUSED ON THE COLLUSION OF THE US AND THE USSR, CHOU STRESSED THEIR ONGOING CONTENTION. CHOU EXPLAINED THAT THIS CONTENTION (AND THE "GREAT DISORDER" IT PRODUCED WHILE BADLY MOTIVATED ON BOTH SIDES WAS FAVORABLE TO THE WORLD'S PEOPLE BECAUSE IT THROWS THE ENEMIES INTO "CONFUSION" AND "DIVISION, IE, MAINTAINS THE BALANCE OF POWER. THUS THE PREMEIR WAS AT PAINS TO INSIST THAT ANY RELAXATION BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS WAS SUPERFICIAL AND TEMPORARY. HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT EUROPE, THE STRATEGIC "KEY POINT." HE WARNED THAT "THE WEST (NOT SIMPLY THE US) WANTS TO URGE THE SOVIET REVISIONISTS EASTWARD TO DIVERT THE PERIL TO CHINA" BUT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE SIMPLY "MAKING A FEINT TO THE EAST" WHILE ACTUALLY AIMING AT EXPANSION IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. IN THIS CONTEXT OF SOVIET WORLD POWER MOVES AND THE CONFIDENTIAL

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THREAT TO CHINA CHOU OFFERED AN UNSETTLING BANDIT ANALOGY TO EXPLAIN THE EXPEDIENT NATURE OF SINO-US DETENTE. HE RATIONALIZED THIS AS DIFFERING FROM THE US-SOVIET DETENTE IN ITS ULTIMATE PURPOSE. HE IMPLIED THAT THE PRC'S PRESENT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US WAS SIMILAR TO LENIN'S PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY AT BREST-LITOV.

5. CHOU HARDLY GAVE A NOD TO IDEOLOGICAL AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY GOALS WHICH THE 1969 REPORT HAD FEATURED. THERE IS NO MENTION IN CHOU'S REPORT OF THE TERM "REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIATE" MUCH LESS OF SPECIFIC "ARMED STRUGGLES" IN BURMA, INDONESIA AND ELSEWHERE OR OF "REVOLUTIONARY MASS MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN, WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA." INSTEAD THE REPORT CITED THE PRC'S DIPLOMATIC GAINS IN RECENT YEARS.

6. CHOU REITERATED THE TASK OF LIBERATING TAIWAN. AND ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT USE THE TERM "PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION" HIS TONE WAS CONCILIATORY. "LET US STRIVE TOGETHER," HE SAID, "TO ATTAIN THE GOAL" OF LIBERATION AND UNIFICATION. FINALLY, THE REPORT MADE NO NEGATIVE COMMENT ABOUT JAPAN AND NO MENTION AT ALL OF INDIA. OSBORN

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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